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Le rapport est le point final d'un projet entrepris il y a huit ans. Le projet avait pour but de suivre, à travers le temps, l'émigration d'une cohorte de Québécois anglophone. En 1976, les auteurs choisirent un échantillon d'étudiants qui avaient quitté l'école secondaire anglaise en 1971. Trois ans plus tard, ils contactèrent de nouveau les sujets du même échantillon. Finalement, entre octobre 1982 et avril 1983, ils contactèrent pour la troisième et dernière fois les mêmes sujets. Le document présente les derniers résultats de cette étude longitudinale.

Lors de la première enquête, en 1976, les auteurs contactèrent 975 personnes et purent noter le lieu de résidence de 862. Lors de leur deuxième enquête, en 1979, ils purent établir le lieu de résidence de 824 de ces personnes. La troisième enquête ne permit d'établir le lieu de résidence que de 752 sujets de l'échantillon original, qui en comprenait 975; 50,9% des personnes étaient des hommes et 49,1% des femmes; la langue maternelle était l'anglais pour 73% des personnes et le français pour 7%.

Onze ans après avoir quitté l'école secondaire, 45% de tous les répondants et 50% de répondants dont la langue maternelle était l'anglais n'habitent plus le Québec. L'étude révèle aussi que ceux qui ne parlent pas couramment le français et dont les parents sont nés dans une autre province sont beaucoup plus enclins à quitter le Québec que ceux dont les parents sont nés au Québec ou en dehors du Canada. Au total, 73% des répondants dont les parents étaient nés dans une autre province avaient quitté le Québec en 1983.

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OUT-MIGRATION OF 1971 ENGLISH MOTHER-TONGUE HIGH SCHOOL LEAVERS FROM QUEBEC

-Eleven Years After-

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
List of Tables	iii
Foreword	1
I History of the Project and Methodology	3
II Further Descriptive Characteristics of the Sample: Sector of Employment, Number of Children and Language of Instruction of Children	13
III Out-Migration, Eleven Years After	19
IV Factors Related to Out-Migration	25
V Changes in Mother-Tongue Declarations	32
Conclusion	35
Bibliography	37

LIST OF TABLES

Page

Table 1- Sex-Distribution and Mother-Tongue of the Contact I (N: 862) Contact II (N: 824) and Contact III (N: 752) Sample Respondents---------- 7

Table 2- The Metropolitan/Remote Distribution in Population, Sample, and Respondent Groups---------- 9

Table 3- Survey Variables, Old and New---------- 11

Table 4- Sector of Employment of Those Employed Contact III (N: 524)- 14

Table 5- Number of Children: Contact III (N: 752)---------- 15

Table 6- Strategy with Respect to Children's Learning of French, Respondents in Quebec: Contact III (N: 404)---------- 17

Table 7- Percentage of Respondents Out of Quebec, Metropolitan and Remote, Contact III (N: 752)---------- 19

Table 8- Percentage of Respondents Out of Quebec, by Mother-Tongue, Contact III (N: 752)---------- 19

Table 9- Percentage of Respondents Out of Quebec, Contact I, II and III by Mother-Tongue (N: 862, 824, 752)---------- 21

Table 10- Parents' Present Location, Metropolitan and Remote, Contact III (N: 752)---------- 23

Table 11- Parents' Present Location, Contact I, II & III (N: 862, 824, 752)---------- 23

Table 12- Percentage of Respondents Out of Quebec by Birthplace of Parents, Contact III (N: 725)---------- 27

Table 13- Plans with Regard to Staying, Leaving, or Returning, for Those in Quebec and Those Out of Quebec at Contact I, II and III (N: 862, 824, 752)---------- 29

Table 14- Attitudes Towards Quebec, Contact I, II and III (N: 468, 468 532)---------- 30

Table 15- Mother-Tongue Declarations Compared, Contact I and Contact III 33

FOREWORD

This report brings to its final stage a project undertaken eight years ago. The purpose of this project was to follow through time the migratory experience of one cohort of English Quebecers. In 1976[1] we constituted a sample of 975 English high school leavers of the 1970-1971 class and established their whereabouts in 1976. Three years later[2] we contacted again the members of the same sample. Finally between October 1982 and April 1983 we contacted for the third and last time the same subjects. What we have here then is the last follow-up of a longitudinal study comprising eleven years, 1971-72 to 1983. To our knowledge this study constitutes the only occasion upon which the same group of Quebec anglophones have been followed in time with regard to their migratory experience.

Longitudinal studies are necessarily long-term projects and require considerable perseverance and resources. We would like to take this occasion to thank the Secretary of State's Office which financed the first two phases of the study as well as a more intensive interviewing of a sub-sample of those who stayed in Quebec,[3] the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada which financed this last follow-up phase, and the Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture where the principal researcher was employed at the time of execution of the last phase.

It must be recalled that the project of a longitudinal study of the out-migration of a cohort of Quebec anglophone youth was an initiative of

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1- Caldwell 1978
2- Caldwell 1980a
3- Caldwell 1981

the Anglo Quebec en Mutation Committee and was sponsored by the Committee in its first and second phases. At the time of the SSHRC award of a grant to do the last phase the present author was attached to the IQRC. In order to allow the latter to complete the project in his capacity as a IQRC researcher AQEM consented to allow the IQRC access to the sample and the data already collected upon two conditions: firstly, the IQRC would respect the ethical obligation that AQEM had assumed towards the subjects and second, the IQRC would make resources available for a reasonable number of animation sessions designed to make the results available to interested parties. This AQEM-IQRC agreement was formalized in an exchange of letters between the chairman and the director general of the respective institutions.

I- HISTORY OF THE PROJECT AND METHODOLOGY

History

In March 1978, the Anglo-Quebec en Mutation Committee published its study of the out-migration of English mother-tongue Quebecers who either graduated from or left high school (hence the denomination «high school leavers») between the academic sessions 1970-71 and 1971-72.[4] The study was based on a two-stage random stratified sample of 975 high school leavers who had attended English language high schools in Quebec. It will be recalled that 31% of all those in this sample of former students of English-speaking high schools, and 33% of those among them who were of English mother-tongue, were out of Quebec in 1976, five years after leaving high school.[5]

Two years later, in 1980, AQEM published the results of a follow-up study in which the whereabouts of the same subjects eight years after leaving high school was established and commented on. As well, the eight-year-after analysis of out-migration was complemented by the addition of four new variables: notably the place of birth of the subject and the year of arrival in Quebec if born elsewhere; the country of origin of the parents; and whether or not the subject attended a CEGEP in Quebec. The results of this first follow-up are discussed in the AQEM document Out-Migration of 1971 English Mother-Tongue High School Leavers from Quebec 1971-1979.[6] As to the central concern of the study, out-migration, the results were the following: eight years after leaving high school the percentage out of Quebec had risen

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4- Caldwell 1978
5- Ibid., pp. 29 to 40
6- Caldwell 1980a

from 31% after five years to 38% in the case of all respondents, and from 33% to 41% in the case of English mother-tongue respondents.[7]

We wish to mention here that the first follow-up was also supplemented by a more intensive interviewing of one hundred of those who were still in Quebec eight years after leaving high school. This study gave rise to the report Those Who Stayed: How They Managed[8] which was also published by the AQEM Committee.

Fortunately, we have been able to carry out a second and final follow-up... twelve years after. Indeed, in the fall of 1982, thanks to a SSHRC grant we undertook to contact members of our sample for the third and last time. In addition to establishing whether or not they were still in Quebec a decade after leaving high school, we also asked for contemporary information with regard to variables subject to change, and gathered data on three new variables. The three new variables in the 1982-83 follow-up are: 1) in what sector (public or private) the subjects are employed; 2) how many children, if any, subjects have; and finally, 3) in what language they plan to educate their children.

Methodology

To our mind, the chief interest of this study of anglophone out-migration from Quebec is its longitudinal character: we were able to follow the same cohort over a period of a decade. The purpose of the study, as originally formulated, and a lengthy exposition of the methodology used are to be found in the first report[9] in the chapters «Purpose of the Study and

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7- Ibid., pp. 18 to 22
8- Caldwell 1981
9- Caldwell 1978

Related Literature» and «Methodology». In the report on the first follow-up[10] a methodological question concerning the further light thrown on the representativity of the sample by the results of the 1976 census was dealt with.[11] Here in this final report we shall not take up again these methodological matters, with the exception of the question of the possible bias introduced by the further attrition in the number of subjects we were able to contact.

The question of the possible loss of representativity owing to attrition leads us directly to a discussion of what we will call, henceforth, the «Contact III» sample, in contradistinction to the first or «Contact I» sample and the second or «Contact II» sample. After having dealt with the characteristics of the Contact III sample we shall proceed to indicate the reasons for the inclusion of the new variables added in the final survey. And lastly, mention will be made of how and when the interviews were carried out.

* * *

At the time of the first contact in 1976, the whereabouts of 862 of the 975 members sample was established, a loss of 113 subjects or 12%. Incidentally, it was the establishment of «whereabouts» that was the criterian for ascertaining whether the sample member became a respondent or a non-respondent. Consequently, at Contact I, 88% of the sample became respondents.

At the time of Contact II, we were able to establish the whereabouts of 824 subjects. In fact we picked up two subjects untraceable at the time of Contact I and lost track of a further 40 for a net loss of 38 (of which losses, at least two were occasioned by deaths). Hence the Contact II sample was

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10- Caldwell 1980a
11- Ibid., pp. 3 & 4, and the Appendix A «Comparability of 1976 Census Figures and the AQEM 1971-1976 Inter-Provincial Out-Migration Estimates» pp.34-37.

constituted of 824 respondents which represented a response rate of 85%.

This time, Contact III, we succeeded in establishing the whereabouts of 752 of the 972 members of the original sample (three were known to us to have died by this time). Accordingly, between Contact II and Contact III we lost touch with a further 72 subjects; a loss in three years which was considerably higher than that experienced between 1976 and 1979. Our response rate fell, correspondingly, from 88% to 77%. This loss was the result of our subjects having moved, as opposed to a refusal to reply. Hence the «non-respondents» are more properly subjects we could not find. We have here an observation that confirms our affirmation (page 10) concerning the conservation bias in our findings introduced by non-response. Notwithstanding, given that we are speaking in terms of a response from subjects over eleven years after the point in time when we originally selected them (1971), we consider such a level of response -- 77% -- to be quite appreciable.

Nonetheless, despite what is still a very satisfactory response rate, we must confront the question of the representativity of our Contact III sample of 752 subjects, which sample has 110 respondents less than the Contact I sample. At the time of the examination of the possible bias in representativity of the Contact I and II samples[12] two characteristics of the sample which are also known for the target population were used as controls: they are the sex and the mother-tongue distributions. In anticipation of the same check on the Contact III sample, we have indicated in Table 1 the sex and mother-tongue distribution of all three samples.

12- Ibid., pp. 6 & 7

TABLE 1: Sex-Distribution and Mother-Tongue of the Contact I (N: 862) Contact II (N: 824) And Contact III (N: 752) Sample Respondents

	Time		
a) Sex-Distribution	Contact I	Contact II	Contact III
Female	51.0%	50.8%	50.9%
Male	49.0%	49.2%	49.1%
	100%	100%	100%
b) Mother-Tongue			
English	74%	74%	73%
French	7%	7%	7%
Other	13%	13%	14%
Unknown	6%	5%	5%
	100%	100%	100%

The sex distribution at the time of Contact III (Table 1 above) remained essentially the same as at Contact I and II and, as we noted in the Contact II report,[13] in line with what we know of this age-group at the time of the 1971 census (50.7% female and 49.3% male). As for the mother-tongue distribution, it is also almost exactly the same as at the time of Contacts I and II. Hence, with regards to both characteristics, sex and mother-tongue, the Contact III sample is unchanged and presumably as representative of the target population as were the two previous samples. We point out here that the mother-tongue and sex readings invoked in Table I are those registered at the time of Contact I. Regarding mother-tongue declaration, research experience

13- Ibid., p.6

in Quebec over the last decade[14] has shown that we cannot always be sure of its reliability. For this reason, we have in chapter five compared mother-tongue declarations at Contact I and at Contact III, with the result that a pattern in change of mother-tongue declaration is discernible.

Those who have had the opportunity to consult the two previous reports will recall that the sample was originally stratified to allow for a disproportionate -- relative to their actual presence in the target population -- representation of students from our so called remote schools.[15] This was done, of course, to give us enough remote cases to be able to infer something about the migration behaviour of respondents from such areas, and accounts for the «weighted» totals in our tables: weighting being the technique used to restore the disproportionate metropolitan and remote «strata» in the sample to their real-life (or population) size.

14- See note 35- page 32 of this text
15- Caldwell 1978 and 1980a

TABLE 2: The Metropolitan/Remote Distribution in Population, Sample and Respondent Groups

	Metropolitan	Remote	
Population of 1971 English High School Leavers N: 5,218	94%	6%	100%
Sample N: 975	83.8%	16.2%	100%
Respondents Contact I- N: 862	82.1%	17.9%	100%
Respondents Contact II- N: 824	81.5%	18.5%	100%
Respondents Contact III- N: 752	81.1%	18.9%	100%

As Table 2 reveals, the proportion of respondents from the remote areas has increased slightly, but constantly, over time -- from 16.2% in the original sample to 18.9% in the Contact III sample. However, as the weights used to establish total sample characteristics are.96 and .04 for the «metropolitan» and «remote» strata respectively, slight over-representation of the remote respondents in the Contact III sample will not introduce any significant bias. It is, incidentally, the need to weight sample characteristics that accounts for the use of percentages, rather than absolute numbers, in all tables throughout the report.

A further and final bias consideration has to do with the fact that the non-respondents, as we established at the time of Contact II,[16] are largely subjects who were out of Quebec at the previous contact. What we have

16- Caldwell 1980a, p.9

here is, in terms of out-migration, a conservative bias: conservative in the sense that it leads to an under-estimation of out-migration. In fact the non-respondents are twice as likely to be out-migrants as the respondents.[17] The relatively higher proportion on «non-responses» encountered at this phase of the study is accordingly indicative of the geographic mobility of our subjects.

Hence with the qualification stated in the five-year-after report[18] to the effect that our findings are an estimation of the out-migration of legal-age high school leavers of 1971 (as opposed to the entire English mother-tongue population of equivalent age) we reaffirm that all bias in our sample with regard to out-migration is conservative... the true figure is higher. Obviously, this conservative bias is compounded at each follow-up.

We turn now to a listing of the variables on which information has been gathered. Originally there were seventeen variables of which five were considered to be «hard» variables. Four new «hard» variables were added at Contact II and a further three at Contact III. To facilitate the readers recall of what precisely the original variables were, they have been listed along with the new ones in Table 3.

17- Based on an examination of the status of Contact II non-responses at Contact I, ibid.
18- Caldwell 1978, pp. 10 to 21

TABLE 3: Survey Variables, Old and New

Old Variables (Contact I):

1. School name
2. Metropolitan or remote
3. Sex
4. Mother-tongue
5. Religion
6. Type of programme
7. Present location
8. Location, in or out of Quebec as of Nov. 15, 1976
9. Year left Quebec
10. When left Quebec
11. Present activity
12. Satisfaction with activity
13. Degree of fluency in French
14. Attitude towards Quebec
15. Plans with regard to staying or returning
16. Reasons for plans
17. Parents' present location

New Variables (Contact II):

18. Place of birth, if out of Quebec, date of arrival
19. Father's country of origin
20. Mother's country of origin
21. Attendance at CEGEP

(Contact III):

22. Sector of employment, public or private
23. Number of children
24. Language children will be educated in

The last matter which remains to be dealt with in this methodology section is that of the timing and execution of the interviews themselves. The interviewing was supervised by Paula Obermeir who was herself an interviewer in the Contact I and II phases of the study. This time three interviewers did all but some of the remote area cases. Two of them, Mario Dagenais and

Angela Rosenthal, worked out of Montreal and one, Jane Mosher-Page, worked out of Sherbrooke. We are grateful to May Arnaud of Rouyn-Noranda and Michael Henderson of Matagami for looking after the interviews, in all three phases in their areas.

Carried out by telephone, the interviews took place over a period of seven months, October 1982 to the end of April 1983. As Contact I took place between May and December 1976, we have chosen to fix (for purposes of analysis) the time interval between Contact I and Contact III at six years, for a total time period elapsed since departure from high school of eleven years. Hence the three sequential readings in our out-migration study are five years after, eight years after, and eleven years after.

II- FURTHER DESCRIPTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE: SECTOR OF EMPLOYMENT, NUMBER OF CHILDREN AND LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION OF CHILDREN

As was the case in the first follow-up, a number of new questions had arisen or taken on a new importance as a result of findings of the previous stage. In the case of the Contact II stage, the more intensive interviewing of the 100 subjects in the Those Who Stayed: How They Managed study allowed us to pursue a number of questions that we since decided to incorporate into the Contact III, or last phase. These questions concern the sector of the economy in which respondents are working, the number of children they now have and the language in which they intend to educate their children.

The sector of employment question was prompted by the discovery that amongst those who stayed, a quarter of those working were either self-employed or working in a family concern. This rather high proportion who were self-employed amongst those who stayed raised the possibility that those who stayed were more likely to find themselves self-employed than those who left. To determine if this was in fact the case we asked our subjects at the time of Contact III if they were self-employed, working elsewhere in the private sector or in the public sector. The results are portrayed in Table 4.

TABLE 4: Sector of Employment of Those Employed Contact III (N: 524)

Sector	Metropolitan	Remote	Total (wgt)
Self-employed	12%	14%	12%
Public	30%	46%	30%
Private	59%	40%	58%
	100%	100%	100%

Of all respondents employed, independently of whether they are in or outside of Quebec, 12% are self-employed, 30% are working in the public sector and 58% in the private sector. The 30% in the public sector -- be it federal, provincial or municipal -- is coherent with the Canadian context generally in which 30% of the active population works in the public sector. It is interesting that the public sector proportion is much higher, 46%, for our remote respondents. As for the proportion who are self-employed, we have no bench-mark by which to measure the significance of the 12% level. What, however, is interesting is that this is half the level observed in our study of a hundred who stayed in the Contact II sample. The 25% level observed in this last case was confirmed by the findings of our more recent Economic Opportunity for English Townshippers[19] study in which one-quarter of our English household heads were self-employed. Unfortunately we did not foresee a sector of employ-

19- Caldwell 1984

ment and an in or out of Quebec cross-classification in the computer treatment for the present Contact III analysis.

* * *

The second of our new variables was the number of children. Our decision to include this question grows out of a continuing interest in the birthrate of the anglophone population of Quebec and the fact that our respondents have now come of age to have children: it will be noted that they are now in their late twenties.

TABLE 5: Number of Children: Contact III (N: 752)

Children	Metropolitan	Remote	Total (Wgt)
None	57%	36%	56%
1 and 2	33%	47%	33%
3 or more	3%	13%	3%
Unknown	7%	4%	7%
	100%	100%	100%

We see in Table 5 that over half of our respondents (56%) have not yet had any children, one-third have one or two children and 3% have had three children (or possibly more), and for a final 7% of our respondents we failed to obtain the relevant information. The difference between the metropolitan and the remote respondents is interesting, close to half as opposed to one-

third of the latter have had at least one child; the proportion of remote respondents with three children or more is four times as high. Those coming from outside the metropolitan area are definitely more prolific; or rather those from the metropolitan area are very little prolific. Indeed, the fact that at age 28, on the average, almost 60% (taking into account a pro-rata distribution of the unknowns) have not begun families is rather surprising. However this finding is consistent with what has been observed elsewhere relative to a decline in anglophone fertility in Quebec[20] owing largely to the fact that young anglophones are increasingly less inclined to form households. This is of course true for francophones, but more so in the case of anglophones.

The last of the new variables is language of education of children. Here again it is a case of an interest that arose out of the Contact II analysis and which was subsequently incorporated in the Contact III questionnaire. The strategies that anglophone parents are adopting relative to the education of their children and the learning of French are very revealing in terms of both how anglophones are adapting to present changes and what may happen to the anglophone population in terms of bilingualism, exogamy and the survival of schools. It is worth recalling here that in the Those Who Stayed: How They Managed study, only half intended to send their children to English schools.[21]

20- See a discussion of this question in Caldwell 1984, p. 73
21- Caldwell 1981, p. 26

TABLE 6: Strategy with Respect to Children's Learning of French, Respondents in Quebec: Contact III (N: 404)

Strategy	Metropolitan	Remote	Total (Wgt)
1) French not necessary	0.3%	2%	0.3%
2) Indifferent	16%	13%	15%
Learning of French Important (3 to 6)			
3) English schooling only	14%	23%	14%
4) English & French schooling	29%	9%	29%
5) French schooling only	22%	34%	23%
6) Other means than school	11%	9%	11%
7) No answer	8%	9%	8%
	100%	100%	100%

In Table 6 we have the distribution of responses from the respondents still in Quebec to our questions regarding what their intentions were regarding French and the schooling of their children. In categories one and two we have those who either did not feel French was necessary (0.3%) or who were indifferent (15%). Categories three through to six are those who felt their children should learn French. Half of the respondents (categories four and

five) intend to send their children to French schools, at some point in their education (29%) or to French schools exclusively (23%). Only 14% intend to send their children to English schools only. However a substantial proportion of the «indifferent» would no doubt, if forced to choose, opt for English schools.

III- OUT-MIGRATION ELEVEN YEARS AFTER

We now come to the crucial finding of the entire project, the extent of out-migration a decade after leaving high school. We have been following the same group (or panel) of respondents over a period of eleven years in order to determine how many of them stayed in Quebec and how many left. Tables 7 and 8 contain the crucial figures: the first indicates out-migration on the basis of the metropolitan-remote distinction and the second on the basis of mother-tongue.

TABLE 7: Percentage of Respondents Out of Quebec, Metropolitan and Remote, Contact III (N: 752)

Metropolitan	Remote	Total (Wgt)
44%	55%	45%

TABLE 8: Percentage of Respondents Out of Quebec, by Mother-Tongue, Contact III (N: 752)

Mother-Tongue	Metropolitan	Remote	Total (Wgt)
English	50%	58%	50%
French	18%	30%	19%
Other	22%	53%	23%
Unknown	51%	0%	49%

By consulting Tables 7 and 8 we learn that although 45% of all respondents were out of Quebec eleven years after leaving high school, a full 50% of the English mother-tongue respondents were out of Quebec: whereas only 19% of the French mother-tongue respondents were out of Quebec. We recall (Table 1) that the English mother-tongue respondents constitute three-quarters of the sample, and the «Other» mother-tongue one-eighth. To summarize then, eleven years after leaving high school, half of the English mother-tongue respondents are no longer in Quebec, whereas less than a quarter of the «Other» mother-tongue respondents have left. The difference between the English mother-tongue respondents and those of Other or French mother-tongue is a difference of more than 100%, to say the least, quite significant. It must be borne in mind that they all attended English language high schools.

As has been consistently the case throughout the study, out-migration from Quebec of respondents from the non-metropolitan or «remote» areas has been much more marked. In the case of the English mother-tongue respondents, the figure is 58% as opposed to 50% for the metropolitan respondents; 30% as opposed to 18% in the case of those of French mother-tongue; and 53% as opposed to 22% in the case of those of Other mother-tongue. In the last instance, that of Other mother-tongue respondents, the level of out-migration is almost as high as that of the English mother-tongue respondents in the remote areas. It is then, only in the metropolitan area that the retention in Quebec of the Other mother-tongue respondents is twice that of the English mother-tongue respondents.

* * *

As we now have available the extent of out-migration in our sample for three points in time we can proceed to review the rhythm of the out-migration movement. In Table 9 we have presented the out-migration percentages (weighted) for each of the three moments of the study, by mother-tongue.

TABLE 9: Percentage of Respondents Out of Quebec, Contact I, II and III by Mother-Tongue (N: 862, 824, 752) [22]

Time	Mother-Tongue			
	English	French	Other	Total
I- Five Years After	33%	15%	19%	31%
II- Eight Years After	41%	20%	22%	38%
III- Eleven Years After	50%	19%	23%	45%

What is rather striking in Table 9 is that although the level of English mother-tongue out-migration has progressed between Contacts II and III -- from 41% to 50% -- such was not the case with the French and Other mother-tongue categories. In fact, the progression of the proportion in the case of the most anglicized element in our sample, those of English mother-tongue, has been rather steady -- an increase of 8% and 9% in each of the three-year intervals respectively; whereas in the case of those who are not of English mother-tongue, there has been a definite levelling off after the initial five-year period. Put succinctly, after seven years the outward drain of the non-English mother-tongue respondents, which drains was approximately half that of the English mother-tongue respondents, has stopped while that of the English mother-tongue respondents continues.

22- All percentages weighted.

The out-migration of which we have been speaking is of course net out-migration. It will be recalled[23] that in terms of outward and return migration, between 1976 (Contact I) and 1971 (Contact II) a further 10% of the sample moved out and 2% moved back for a net out-migration of 8%. In the subsequent three-year period, 1979 to 1982 the breakdown of the net migratory movement was very similar: a further 9.3% moved out and 2.5% moved back for a net out-migration of 6.8%. In this constancy of the overall out/return migration flows in the two three-year periods subsequent to the initial five-year period of high mobility we have a further indication that the overall rhythm of out-migration has levelled off for our 1971 high school-leaving cohort, with the one qualification that this levelling off is relative to mother-tongue.

In fact, given what is known about the age-specific character of migration in Canada[24] it would be expected that at the age which our respondents had attained in 1982, their late twenties, their level of mobility would have decreased, rather than levelled off. This was in fact the case for the French and Other mother-tongue respondents, but not the case however for the English mother-tongue respondents.

* * *

Conscious that out-migration of young people, at least while still in their teens, might be a function of the migratory pattern of their parents, and also aware that we had a unique opportunity to document the migration pattern of an older generation, we have consistently asked our respondents about the whereabouts of their parents.

23- Caldwell 1980a, p.20
24- This question was discussed in the second report, Caldwell 1980, p.21. See also Lachapelle and Henripin 1980, pp. 211-214.

We recall that at Contact I only 7% of the parents as opposed to 31% of the respondents themselves were outside of Quebec; and at the time of Contact II, 11% of the parents as compared to 38% of the respondents: the increase in the case of the parents was much more considerable than in the case of the respondents. We proceed now to consider the location of the parents at Contact III (Table 10).

TABLE 10: Parents' Present Location, Metropolitan and Remote, Contact III (N: 752)

Parents' Location	Metropolitan	Remote	Total (Wgt)
In Quebec	82%	73%	81%
Out of Quebec	16%	22%	16%
Unknown	2%	5%	2%

By the time of Contact III, eleven years after the base time for our chronological study, 16% of the parents were out of Quebec. The figure is significantly higher for the remote aréas, 22%. Comparing now the 1982 figures with those obtained at Contact I and II we get the situation depicted in Table 11.

TABLE 11: Parents'Present Location, Contact I, II & III[25] (N: 862, 824, 752)

Parents' Location	Contact I	Contact II	Contact III
In Quebec	89%	87%	81%
Out of Quebec	7%	11%	16%
Unknown	4%	1%	2%

25- All percentages weighted

At the time of Contact III, 81% of the parents were still in Quebec. Or, in the space of eleven years almost one-fifth of the parents have left Quebec. The rhythm of the out-migration of the parents has been quite steady, 7% in the first five years, a further 4% in the next three years and another 5% in the last three years, for an average of one and one half per cent a year.

IV- FACTORS RELATED TO MIGRATION

In the two previous reports on the out-migration of 1971 English high school leavers we isolated two factors which are strongly related to out-migration. In this final report we will limit ourselves to stating whether the findings reported in two previous reports were confirmed in the third and final phase of the project. The two factors previously isolated are mother-tongue and origin of the parents.

It was in our first report that mother-tongue was isolated as a factor related to out-migration. However, we also established that mother-tongue did not influence directly the propensity to out-migrate; rather it did so via the intermediary of fluency in French.[26] In other words, mother-tongue is not directly related to out-migration, rather, mother-tongue is directly related to fluency in French (Other mother-tongue respondents are more fluent in French) which is in turn directly related to out-migration. Given this finding, we interpret the fact that Other mother-tongue respondents are much less (half) likely to out-migrate as being a consequence of the fact that they are more fluent in French. This of course raises the question as to why Other mother-tongue respondents should be so much more fluent in French than the English mother-tongue respondents, a phenomenon we commented on in the conclusion of the first report.[27]

26- Caldwell 1978, pp. 41 to 44
27- Ibid., p. 50

In this last phase of the study the same observation as to the relationship between mother-tongue and out-migration continues to hold: Others are much less inclined to out-migrate; only 23% of them as opposed to 50% of the English were out of Quebec in 1982. Indeed the relationship between out-migration and mother-tongue, as depicted in Table 9 continues to apply eleven years after. If anything, the relationship becomes increasingly pertinent overtime: the proportion of Others out of Quebec was 19%, 22% and 23% respectively for the three Contacts, whereas it was 33%, 41% and 50% respectively for the English mother-tongue respondents.

The relationship between mother-tongue and out-migration also manifested itself in the analysis, in the second report, of out-migration by place of birth of parents (mother-tongue being a function of place of birth).[28] What proved particularly interesting in the examination of this relationship was not only the difference between those whose parents were born in a non-anglophone country outside of Canada and those born in Canada, but also the difference between those whose parents were born in Quebec and those whose parents were born outside of Quebec -- a difference that has nothing to do with mother-tongue -- children whose parents were born in Quebec were much less likely to out-migrate.

28- Caldwell 1980a, p.24

TABLE 12: Percentage of Respondents Out of Quebec by Birthplace of Parents, Contact III (N: 752)[29]

Parent	Birthplace			
	Quebec	Another Province	Other Anglophone Country	All Other Countries
Father	39%	73%	40%	36%
Mother	39%	67%	52%	36%

The Contact III findings portrayed in Table 12 exhibit the same pattern as prevailed at Contact II, the only difference being that the percentages, as expected, are consistently higher. Notwithstanding, the differences between country of origin categories are somewhat attenuated. In the Contact II report it was noted «that children of native Quebec families are half as likely to out-migrate as those of families from elsewhere in Canada»,[30] and that «the propensity to out-migrate of the same children of parents from elsewhere in Canada is two and a half times that of children whose parents are from other non-anglophone countries».[31] As can be verified by consulting Table 12 these differences still hold, but not to the same extent. Children of parents born in Quebec are much less likely to leave than those whose parents come from another province -- 39% as opposed to 73% (origin of father); whereas these latter (parents born in another province) are twice as likely to out-migrate as those whose parents came from another non-anglophone country.

29- All percentages weighted. In Table 14 of the Contact II analysis, Caldwell 1980a, only the metropolitan respondents were included (p.24). Were the remote cases to be excluded from the present Table 12 the only changes would be in the «All Other Countries» column where the figures for the Father's and the Mother's origin would be 34% and 33% respectively.

30- Ibid., p.25

31- Ibid.

What is interesting is that after eleven years it is clearly those whose parents were born in another province who stand out as being most likely to have left, 73%; whereas children of parents born in Quebec or another country are much less likely to have left, in the neighbourhood of 40% only.

A precaution that must be advanced is that the ratios we have just put forward do not hold in the remote areas where all the children of the non-Canadian born have left Quebec, as established from breakdowns (not shown in Table 12 owing to the small numbers involved). However, the children of native Quebecers behave, with respect to out-migration, in the same way independently of whether they are metropolitan or remote.

* * *

Among the variables making up the study there are four «soft», as opposed to «hard» variables which can be objectively measured. Two of these soft variables used at all three contacts have in the course of the first two reports been examined; they are plans with regard to staying or not, or returning to Quebec, and the other is attitude towards Quebec.

At each contact we inquired about respondents plans regarding future moves. In the Contact II report we commented on the rather surprising coherence between what respondents said they planned to do in 1976 (Contact I) and what they did (where they were at Contact II).[32] We are now in a position to compare what respondents said in 1976 (Contact I) with regard to their intentions about staying in Quebec, and where they actually were in 1982... six years later.

32- Ibid.,p.26

Of those in Quebec in 1976 who said they would stay, 94% were in Quebec three years later (Contact II) and 81% six years later (Contact III). Obversely, of those who were out of Quebec and said they would not return 96% had not returned in 1979 and 94% in 1982. As for those who were conditional or indefinite about their intentions, the coherence between intentions and actions is not as complete. Nonetheless, the coherence between the intentions of unambiguous respondents and their actions makes it worthwhile to consider the evolution of intentions overtime as shown in Table 13. We have in this table juxtaposed plans with regard to staying or leaving, or returning to Quebec by location (in or out of Quebec) at the three points in time at which the subjects were interviewed.

TABLE 13: Plans with Regard to Staying, Leaving, or Returning, for Those in Quebec and Those Out of Quebec at Contact I, II and III (N: 862, 824, 752)

a) For Those In Quebec

Plans	Will Stay	Will Not Stay	Conditional	Indefinite	
Contact I	53%	19%	25%	3%	100%
Contact II	59%	6%	30%	5%	100%
Contact III	47%	4%	43%	6%	100%

b) For Those Out of Quebec

Plans	Will Return	Will Not Return	Conditional	Indefinite	
Contact I	5%	70%	14%	12%	100%
Contact II	1%	75%	17%	7%	100%
Contact III	1%	38%	54%	7%	100%

In the three years that elapsed between 1979 and 1982 the two rather distinct and symetric changes in the evolution of stated intentions stand out in Table 13. Amongst those in Quebec the proportion of those who say they will stay has declined and the proportion of conditionals (their staying is conditional) has increased. On the other hand, amongst those who are out of Quebec, there has been a displacement from the «will not return» category to the conditional category. An interpretation which is coherent with both these shifts is that the respondents -- both those in Quebec and those now outside of Quebec -- are less sure of their plans with regard to living in Quebec. The influence of the 1982 recession is, no doubt, at work here.

The other soft variable upon which we commented in the Contact II report[33] and would like to comment on here is «attitude towards Quebec». Because as mentioned in the Contact II report, the number of «unknown» values has varied considerably from contact to contact we have in the distribution in Table 14 based the percentages only on those cases for which we had a response to this question.

TABLE 14: Attitudes Towards Quebec, Contact I, II and III (N: 468, 468, 532)

Time	Attitudes			
	Negative	Positive	Indifferent	Ambivalent
Contact I	24%	18%	46%	11%
Contact II	15%	37%	32%	17%
Contact III	32%	27%	19%	22%

33- Ibid., p.27

What we have in Table 14 is a marked reversal on the most recent period (1979-1982) of the change that took place between 1976 and 1979. As we reported in our Contact II analysis,[34] there appeared to have been a definite shift to a more positive view of Quebec among our respondents. Subsequently, the shift has been the other way, and although fewer people are indifferent, more are now negative about Quebec than they were in 1979, even in 1976... but of course, more of them are now also out of Quebec.

34- Ibid., p.28

V- CHANGES IN MOTHER-TONGUE DECLARATIONS

One of the major methodological developments in research on language in Quebec in particular and Canada in general in the course of the last decade has been the realization that mother-tongue declarations are not stable. Since mother-tongue is a given, as opposed to an acquired, characteristic, it had been widely assumed that changes in acquired language characteristic such as language most often used could be measured against the constant individual characteristic of mother-tongue. Realization that mother-tongue declarations are not reliable casts a major methodological cloud over language research in Canada.[35]

The present chronological or «panel» study offered an excellent opportunity to observe this phenomenon. Accordingly we asked respondents at Contact III again to declare their mother-tongue, confident that they would not remember that the same question had been already asked in 1976. Our purpose in this short chapter is to present the results of the comparison of Contact I (1976) and Contact III (1982-83) declaration, leaving to others or to a later occasion the task of comparing our findings on mother-tongue mobility with the findings of others. Suffice to say that our present findings confirm those of other authors.[36] Returning to our results, they are to be found in the Table 15 and are interpreted in the paragraph which follows.

35- See Caldwell 1980b pp. 76 and 77 for a discussion of this problem and references to other authors. Robert Maheu has specifically addressed the issue in a more recent article (Maheu 1981).

36- Ibid.

TABLE 15: Mother-Tongue Declarations Compared, Contact I and Contact III

Contact I (1976)	Contact III (1982-83)				
	EMT	FMT	OMT	Unknown	Total
EMT	506	8	17	21	552
FMT	12	38	0	4	54
OMT	29	0	76	2	107
Unknown	31	2	3	3	39
Total	578	48	96	30	752

Of the 752 respondents in the Contact III sample, 552 declared themselves to be of English mother-tongue in 1976 and 578 in 1982-83, a net gain of 5% for the English mother-tongue category over a period of from seven to eight years; whereas the French and Other mother-tongue categories of English high school leavers suffered net losses of 13% and 10% respectively. As could be expected, the major movements were from Other and French to English mother-tongue: in fact 27% and 22% respectively of the respondents who had declared themselves to be of Other and French mother-tongue in 1976 changed their declaration to English in 1982-83. Another more basic characterization of mother-tongue declaration mobility is the overall proportion of those who changed their declaration: putting aside all cases in which the mother-tongue was unknown either at the time of Contact III or at the time of Contact I, we have a total of 685 cases of which 620 did not change their

declaration... Hence 10% did change their declaration seven to eight years after the original declaration.

CONCLUSION

Eleven years after leaving high school, 45% of all our respondents and 50% of the English mother-tongue respondents are no longer in Quebec. This finding -- that half the generation of students of the seventies left -- confirms those reported on by Uli Locher in a study carried out for the Conseil de la langue française, and based on data gathered in 1979.[37] As far as the subjects' parents are concerned, one-fifth of them left over the eleven-year period.

Amongst the English high school population of 1971, as sampled in our study, the most important determinants of out-migration are the not independent factors of fluency in French and the origin of parents: those who are not fluent and or whose parents were born in another province are much more likely to leave than either those whose parents were born in Quebec or outside of Canada. Indeed 73% of the respondents whose parents were born in another province had left Quebec by 1983.

In the conclusion to the Contact II analysis we expressed some concerns as to the selective nature of out-migration from English Quebec: «the consequences in the hypothetical context in which educated emigrants were not being replaced by educated immigrants -- if such were indeed to be happening -- could be quite drastic in terms of the educational attainment profile of the residual population». Although in this project we did not attempt to study out-migration in the context of the socio-economic characteristics of the parents there now exist sufficient indications as to the relationship between, at least, educational

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37- Uli Locher 1983a. See also the same author in Locher 1983b for an excellent review of the out-migration question.

attainment and migration.[38] In our recent study of economic opportunity for English Townshippers, the consequences of selective out-migration combined with diminished immigration were quite evident[39]. The outcome of the changing migratory equilibrium in so far as the English population of Quebec is concerned, would seem to be quite obvious and it is the following: English Quebec can no longer, for the foreseeable future, count on anyone but itself for demographic survival; counting on itself involves cultural strategies that will produce the kind of people who both can and want to stay in Quebec. Unless this happens, and if the present rate of out-migration continues to prevail, the demographic future of English Quebec appears quite limited.

38- The relationship between out-migration and educational attainment is discussed in Lachapelle et Henripin 1980 pp. 214-215.

39- Caldwell 1984

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